

THE LIBERATOR.
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY, AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

Robert T. Wallcut, General Agent.

12/- TERMS.—\$1 50 per annum; or, if payment
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W.M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

ED.—Yes! It cannot be denied—the slaveholding
lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to
secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their
slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of prescriptive rights in slave property; the second was
the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an en-
gagement positively prohibited by the law of God,
delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the sacrifice, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation
upon the government of the nation is, to establish an
artificial majority in the slave representation, at the
cost of the free people, in the national congress, and
hence to make it PRESERVE, PROPAGATE,
AND PERPETUATE OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XIX. NO. 24.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1849.

WHOLE NO. 962.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Maryland Colonization Journal.

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

We have ever made it a rule to keep the subjects
of slavery and the organized abolition Societies of
the North, entirely out of our pages, feeling that
we have little to do with either directly, and well
knowing that no good could result from their
being introduced.

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January, 1849.
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They despise the Constitution, because it is a barrier to their leading progress. They ridicule law, because the law restrains them within the bounds of moderation. They preach up a sectional crusade, in the expectation that disunion could take place, the fruits of such folly would result in their own personal good. These men are the chiefs among demagogues, and the leaders of men content to be led by passion and disorganization.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING. It appears that the Society, of which Garrison, Parker, Lucretia Mott, *et id omne genus*, are the heads, cannot get along in its proper sphere—waging war against slavery—but from their not being adequately protected in the power to charge high prices for their produce. However, the feudal lords were beaten by the cotton lords, the manufacturers, and the wholesale and retail shopkeepers, and the corn laws were repented. Progress acts—the view extends as the man ascends, and it soon became obvious, that freedom in carriage was essential to freedom of exchange, and hence our House of Commons has twice passed a bill having this for its object, and it is now under discussion by our 'House of Incurables,' called by courtesy our House of Lords. It has passed its second reading by a majority of ten peers, who did not hear the debate, because our peers possess the power of voting by proxy. The peers present at the debate negative the bill, but the peers being counted on both sides, the government was found to possess as many beat down the majority of those present, and gave the ministers a majority of ten only.

THE CHRISTIAN SPIRIT.—On Thursday afternoon, the day before closing its sessions, the Assembly [New School] celebrated the Lord's Supper. Among the ministers appointed to officiate on the occasion, was Dr. Leach, a slaveholder, of Virginia.

On Monday preceding, apprehending there

might be some brother in the Assembly who might

not choose to receive the sacrament from him, on account of his connection with slavery, Dr. Leach requested the Assembly to excuse him from the part

that had been assigned him in the service.

Dr. Beman, Rev. Messrs. Ludlow, Boardman, and others, deprecated his request, and the Assembly, as with one voice, insisted on his filling his place in this service.—*New York Observer.*

The Liberator.

AFFAIRS IN EUROPE.

LONDON, May, 1849.

DEAR GARRISON:

I sat down to write to you; and now that I have my pen in hand, I ask myself why, as I am not about to write directly on the subject of slavery, should intrude European politics and policy upon you? And I answer—just because all that relates to the happiness of man has relation to Justice, and we cannot deal with its application to man, in any clime, or in any relation, without perceiving its relation to all men, every clime.

Bonaparte—the Bonaparte—is reported to have said, that Europe would shortly have the rule of the Cossacks or of republicans. This issue seems likely to be tried shortly; the signs of the coming struggle are imminent—the Austrians, the Neapolitans, and the French, are on the eve of entering Rome; and this letter is despatched to you by the next packet, that entices and the consequent struggle will be, in all probability, be made. The Hungarians have entered Vienna, and I have reason to know, that in answer to a letter from a private individual, saying that, in the writer's opinion, 'the only hope for Italy was Hungary,' Kosuth wrote back—'I know it, and Italy shall be free.' I hope—all good men must hope—that his words will become true, and be come true quickly. The Hungarians, as I mentioned, have thrown off the House of Hapsburg, as having been their great oppressor. Our leading Journal, that is, the one that has the greatest circulation, thus speaks to-day on this subject:

We the undersigned, ministers and elders in the Presbyterian Church, would respectfully memorialize the General Assembly on the subject of Chattel Slavery.

1. We believe with the General Assembly of 1848, that 'Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a gross violation of the dearest rights of human nature, and utterly irreconcileable with God.'

2. And since, 'To the General Assembly belongs the power of deciding in all controversies respecting doctrine and discipline, of repealing, warning, or rebuking testimony against error in doctrine, or immoral practice in any Church, Presbytery, or Synod,' [see form of instrument, ch. 12, sec. 5.] we request the General Assembly to do the following:

3. Resolved, That we re-affirm the sentiments expressed by the Assembly of 1815, and especially in the following quotation:

'The General Assembly have repeatedly declared their approbation of those principles of civil liberty which seem to be recognized by the Federal and State governments in these United States. They have expressed their regret that the slavery of the Africans and their descendants, and of Christians, is still prevalent, but which they are ready to obey the intimations of Providence, and to follow the guidance of the torch-light of truth, which the hand of God holds up before us, to go forward as that goes onward, and to move no faster than it blessed radiance is upon our pathway. All theories, where they come to put on the dress of experience, must yield to the authority of uniform and universal facts; and both progressives and conservatives might render themselves much more comfortable as well as useful in our world, if they were more deeply imbued with this one practical truth. These remarks apply to all men, and these ought to be the mottoes of all who are engaged in the cause of humanity, and those who are engaged in the cause of God.'

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3. Resolved, That we re-affirm the sentiments expressed by the General Assembly of 1815. The following extracts are commanded to speak:

'We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as it is utterly inconsistent with the laws of God, which are, to love our neighbors as ourselves, and as totally irreconcileable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ, which enjoins that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. Slaveholding is a sin, and is a gross violation of the law of God, and tends to the corruption of the moral system. It exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others, whether they shall receive religious instruction—whether they shall know and worship the true God—whether they shall perform the duties, and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends, that shall preserve their chastity and purity, or repel the dictates of lust and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery—consequences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence.'

Again: 'From this view of the consequences resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their brethren of mankind; for 'God hath not given us a spirit of fear, but of power, and of a sound mind, and of a right spirit, that we may be perfect.'

We the undersigned, ministers and elders in the Presbyterian Church, would respectfully memorialize the General Assembly on the subject of Chattel Slavery.

1. Timothy, i. 10. 'The law is made for man,'

'STEALERS.'

This crime among the Jews exposed the

perpetrators of it to capital punishment: Ex. xxii.

16, and the apostle here classes them with sinners of

the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing

any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining

them in it. *Habakkuk*, chapter 1, verse 13: 'Thee do we

deserve, O God, to curse with a curse.'

2d. Resolved, That we re-affirm the sentiments expressed by the General Assembly of 1815. The following extracts are commanded to speak:

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the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing

any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining

them in it. This will doubtless be found to vary in the sight of God, according to the degree of light and other circumstances pertaining to each. In view of all these embarrassments and obstacles in the way of emancipation, interposed by the statutes of the slaveholding States, and by the social influence affecting the views and conduct of those involved in it, we cannot pronounce

of any of our social grades—when the poor thick
pies failed in business, they were led to think it was
not induced by high rents, heavy tithes and taxation,
but from their not being adequately protected in the
power to charge high prices for their produce. How-
ever, the feudal lords were beaten by the cotton lords,
the manufacturers, and the wholesale and retail shop-
keepers, and the corn laws were repented.

Progress acts—the view extends as the man ascends, and it soon
became obvious, that freedom in carriage was essential
to freedom of exchange, and hence our House of
Commons has twice passed a bill having this for its
object, and it is now under discussion by our 'House of
Incurables,' called by courtesy our House of Lords.

The committee to whose consideration were sub-
mitted sundry papers on the subject of slavery, now
present to the Assembly the following report, con-
sisting of preamble and resolutions:

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The Liberator.

BOSTON, JUNE 15, 1849.

No Union with Slaveholders!

FOREIGN AID TO OUR CAUSE.

character of the system. Yet we hesitate to pronounce it a sin, and to treat it as a sin. Slavery is cruel; it is the grand source of impurity. It destroys all the defences of virtue and of liberty. It takes that away, for the defence of which we justify any man in taking the life of him that assaults it. It promotes theft; it is one grand system of theft, of the best possessions of man. Shall Christian men hesitate to pronounce it a sin?

Mr. B. would make his appeal in behalf of our brethren in bondage. Feel them as if you were in bondage. If you will pronounce it a sin, you will utter a principle which will affect the whole system. Southern friends understand this; they tell us if we pronounce it a sin, they will have to commence discourses, or leave us. That is it. We regulate the moral conduct of the community on the subject. You are bound by our constitution, by love to Christ and man by humanity, to pronounce it a sin. You disgrace the church, you dishonor the Christian character, you obscure the truth, and restrain the moral power of Christ's kingdom.

We have but hinted at the different trains of thought introduced by Mr. B. in his long speech.

Mr. Beecher did not think his anti-slavery sentiments would be quite safe. Though never ranked with us, he did not yield to any man in a deep, strong, and unchangeable hostility to slavery; neither had his anti-slavery sentiments been brothered out of him since he came to Philadelphia. The amendment of Mr. Bassett was purely unnecessary, as the essential feature of it is embodied in the report. It contains nothing that is not in the report, and omits much that is in it. The report affirms the strong language of the Assembly in 1818; and he challenged any man to characterize the sinfulness of slavery in more decisive language than that.

The report exhorts the churches to use all their honest, earnest, and unrewarded efforts in every suitable and lawful way, to effect the speedy abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world. What more than this does the abolitionist of the first water want?

It interdicts the buying and selling of slaves by way of traffic, and altogether excepts human property. It would interdict the entire Slave trade. There are undoubtedly cases where the purchase of slaves is justifiable, and even commendable, but the ordinary business of buying and selling slaves was here strongly reproached.

Where the legal relation unavoidably remains, by the force of the law of the land or the paucity of Christian men in any community, the report forbids all cruelties, and enjoins upon Presbyteries and churches strictly to discipline them. And those who cannot get rid of slavery are to treat their slaves with Christian kindness and constant regard to their religious wants. The report first requires all to get rid of their slaves when they can; and where the dictates of humanity or of necessity forbid this, to treat them with kindness. He considered this report a great advance on previous action. The Assembly of '46 would not re-affirm the action of '18; and at several other times the attempt has been unsuccessfully made to re-endorse that action.

It is a fundamental law of the church, that sin is a discipline imposed for the welfare of the soul; and we have pronounced slavery to be an abominable and oppressive system—in other words, a sin. Whatever, therefore, there is sinful in the system or the practical operation of it, is a legitimate matter for church censure. No voluntary slaveholder would ever receive the communion cup from his hands.

Ch. Justice Hornblower, in a few words, strongly approved of Mr. Bassett's amendment. He would oppose slavery as he would murder, manslaughter, and theft, and every crime. He would no sooner come into a room with a slaveholder, who is internally such, than with the greatest malice. What right has one man to sustain such a relation to another man, as that of master? Where does a man acquire the power to buy and sell the sinews and soul of his fellow-man, made in God's image, and born with precisely the same rights as himself? It is an offence against the rights of man which the gospel presupposes in all its overtures of mercy; and how can we hold him who voluntarily and openly practices it, guiltless enough to extend the hand of brotherly communion to him? His greatest objection to Mr. Bassett's amendment is, that it does not go far enough. The duty of the church of Christ, surrounded by a flagrant and all-prevalent sin, is something more than to characterize it as a sin. Our apprehensions on this subject are apt to be weak, and confused by our familiarity with its enormity. We talk about organic sins—sins enormous in their own nature, and in the sight of God, yet excusable on account of their incorporation into our laws and social uses. It is one of the most unhappy phrases used in the language of religion, a sin by turns, and sometimes leading to criminality of all kinds. If adoption into human colosses altered its inherent character; as if human legislation superseded the word and sanction of the Almighty. We should not judge so in any other case. What if the laws of one of our States permitted polygamy, and beaped around him who had become involved in the sin, a variety of obstructions in the way of getting out of it; should we any the less condemn the man of a dozen wives, on the score of Christian morality, because his sin was approved by the State? What if one of the ministers of this church, going as a missionary to Turkey, should avail himself of the laws of that empire to add a dozen wives to his household? Would the organic nature of the sin, and its legal sanction in the land of his residence, excuse him for it? And on his return to America on a summer tour, would he be welcomed to your pulpits, and your communion table, and your heart-stones, because he participated only in an organic sin? The cases are precisely parallel in principle; and differ only in the view we take of them. No! the church of Christ ought not only to offer a testimony that slavery is a sin, but act upon it, and, if possible, and if it does, judge by its fruits, the wrong it does, the woes it creates, what sin is equal to it? Measure it by the same honest rule you would apply to other crimes, and what do you make of it? It is a sin, if there be any such thing as sin; and if a sin, one of the most heinous, and the more heinous because so widely participated in, and so generally exercised. It is high time for the church to take a proper attitude on this subject; and from his heart he sympathized with and thanked the brother who had been true enough to his sense of duty and convictions of eternal justice, to bring forward a proposition declaring slavery to be a sin, and worthy of the same treatment—and he would add more severe and stern treatment, than any other gross immorality.

Mr. Bullard said he had no connexion with slavery. He never had any, and God willing, he never should have. He was born in the Old Bay State, and in all his wanderings, he had lost not a particle of his reverence for the principles and character of that noble Commonwealth. He went to a slave State because it was a hard State. It was in obedience to the principles he adopted at the outset: that if there was a place to be found where nobody else would labor, that was the place for him. He went there to bring the gospel to bear upon that very system; and he felt that his life will have been well spent if he could be the means of bridging that system for five years in Missouri. The more he saw of slavery, the more he hated it; and the more he hated it, the more he was convinced that our anti-slavery brethren at the North are all in the wrong in not trying to stop it. He had lived twelve years in Missouri, but he had not so much as a thread of cotton across his eyes to blind him. Yet he would tell the brethren, that as long as they kept up their agitation, they are retarding the day of deliverance. You shut up our mouths on the subject. The action of this Assembly has been like the weight of a mill-stone upon us. Everything we do, or attempt to do, is prevented by the cry of 'Abolitionists.' And if we overcome that difficulty—and induce our church members to emancipate their slaves, where shall we send them? They are the terrible black laws of Illinois—laws as infamous and oppressive in all their aspects, as any law on any Southern statute-book. Let these fiery brethren from the Northwest look at home, and expand some of their excessive zeal in removing those odious infusions from there; there is no such obstacle in all the degradation of the poor, as these black laws. Don't let the men who can suffer such abominations to exist without rebuke, blame us for our slave laws. Dr. B. urged peace and conciliation on this subject, as the most hopeful way of managing this difficult matter.

Mr. Smith, (from Missouri,) came determined to oppose any action on this subject. He was firmly convinced that it was impolitic to discuss any subject which had been made an absorbing question among political men. How does it look for us, ministers of the gospel, to be discussing questions which are political in all their connections, and are the common theme of political meetings? Mr. S. distasted the re-

port, and the amendment still more. He disliked the allusion of the report to the action of 1846. That pleased nobody—neither North nor South. It was a James-faced, hypocritical document, showing one set of principles to the North, and another to the South. We had no desire to re-affirm such a document as that.

Mr. S. then begged to read a few verses of St. Paul's writings on this subject—not because he was a pro-slavery man, but because on this subject he desired to be guided solely by the lamp of revelation. That was good enough for him. He did not wish to go further back than that—to any more original documents. Mr. S. then read: 'Let as many servants as we are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters—believing masters—masters, then, can be believers, and if believers, brethren—let them not despise them, because they are brethren: but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefits. These things teach and exhort; and if any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverted disputings of men of corrupt minds and degenerate spirits of this world; from such withdraw thyself.' If Paul had lived in these times, and had undertaken to draw a picture of the results which have flowed from this abolition discussion, he could not have used language more apt and expressive than this.

The vote was taken on Mr. Bassett's amendment, it was almost unanimously lost.

Mr. Tyler, (from Mississippi,) then moved as a substitute for the report, a series of resolutions, to the effect that the General Assembly denounces all oppression, and urges all its members to purify themselves from sin; that the tyrannical exercise of power, whether by rulers over subjects, parents over children, or masters over slaves, is a most abominable and ought to be made a matter of discipline; but that the relation of master and slave was not necessarily sin.

Mr. Holmes then moved, that he was to understand the report, the exception of the sale of slaves by way of traffic, and altogether except human property. It would interdict the entire Slave trade. There are undoubtedly cases where the purchase of slaves is justifiable, and even commendable, but the ordinary business of buying and selling slaves was here strongly reproached.

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Ch. Justice Hornblower, in a few words, strongly approved of Mr. Bassett's amendment. He would oppose slavery as he would murder, manslaughter, and theft, and every crime. He would no sooner come into a room with a slaveholder, who is internally such, than with the greatest malice.

What right has one man to sustain such a relation to another man, as that of master?

Dr. B. replied to this—that the report distinctly declares that the church is to take the lead on this subject, and not to wait for the action of the State.

He further desired to know if there was any thing in this report on the full recognition of the right of all men—slaves included—to the Bible. He asked this, because his own mind and the minds of his people were much interested in this matter of giving the Bible to the slave. They had raised a sum for the purpose, and sent on a box of Bibles to Washington, and were informed that the Bibles could not be distributed to the slaves there. (Dr. B. replied to this—that there was such a recognition.)

W. H. Campbell, Esq., said that he was Treasurer of the Bible Society of Washington, and that the Society was constantly engaged in giving the Bibles to slaves, and did so as fast and as far as any other institutions are found.

The question was then taken, and the report was adopted with but one or two dissenting voices.

Dr. Lorch then remarked that he had moved the adoption of that report as the best thing on the whole that could be done. It was better for the South than any agitation would be. They could now assure their people, that it was the old thing over again; it was no more than they had already become accustomed to.

RESOLUTIONS ON SLAVERY.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Old School, Pittsburgh, May 25th, through their chairman, Dr. McGill, reported a series of six resolutions, which were as follows:

Resolved, Ist. That the principles of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of slavery are already set forth in repeated declarations, so full as to need no further exposition.

2d. That in view of the civil and domestic nature of our country, and the competency of secular institutions alone to remedy it, and in view of the earnest inquiry and deep agitation on this subject, which we now observe in one or more Commonwealths of our country where slavery exists, it is considered peculiarly improper and inexpedient for this Assembly to attempt or propose any measures in the work of emancipation.

3d. That all necessary and proper provision has been already made for the just exercise of discipline upon those who neglect or violate the mutual duties of master and servant, and the General Assembly is always ready to enforce those provisions, when the unfaithfulness of any inferior court is made manifest by record, appeal, or complaint.

4th. We rejoice to believe that the action of a former Assembly, so far from aiding or allowing the iniquitous oppression of man by his fellow-man, has steadily promoted an amelioration in the condition of slaves, by winning the confidence of masters; by freedom from fanaticism, and by stimulating the slaveholder and his pastor alike to labor in the religious education of the blacks.

5th. That it is enjoined on Presbyteries situated in slaveholding States to continue to interest their exertions for the religious education of the slaves; and to report distinctly in the usual narratives to the General Assembly, the state of religion among the colored population.

The report was accepted and adopted, one gentleman voting against. (Mr. Nevin was absent.)

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

PHILADELPHIA, June 9, 1849.

The Baptist and Methodist denominations, as is well known, have been most averse on the question of slavery; but both branches of the powerful Presbyterian Church, so strong in intellect and wealth, have retained their integrity on this question.

The subject was not taken up by the New School Assembly, sitting here, until the last day of the session, and then on the report of a committee consisting of Northern, Southern, and Western members, of which Dr. Beman was chairman. It was not only to offer a testimony that slavery is a sin, but also to vindicate the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Assuredly, the Massachusetts A. S. Society would be grateful for any amount of pecuniary assistance that our transatlantic friends might feel willing to contribute; but its Board of Managers would be far from claiming of them any special aid for its local operations. This Society derives no pecuniary benefit from the Faneuil Hall Bazaar, the proceeds being given to the Parent Society, as we have already stated; its auxiliaries should labor assiduously, that it may have means to occupy territory which no local body can do. It occupies a position which makes it proper and important to secure for it all the aid that British philanthropy can lend to the overthrow of American slavery, and that aid can best be given through its treasury. As long, therefore, as the Pennsylvania Society is in harmony with and auxiliary to the American Society, should it not be seeking assistance for it abroad, rather than for itself, to the injury of the American Society?

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It is not possible that there can be any jealousy of rivalry, any exclusiveness of purpose or want of confidence, in this matter; for our Pennsylvania friends are faithful and true, and maintain the principles and measures of the Parent Society with undiminished courage and rare devotion. And that they have the fullest confidence in the integrity and judgment of the Executive Committee, we know. But we think they have not sufficiently surveyed the whole ground, or reflected how injurious their example must be, as a precedent, to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

For the past year that Society has not done all we could have wished, they well know it has been owing to a want of means; and surely, to divert funds from its treasury into another channel is not the way to increase its vitality, or enlarge its sphere of action.

If our British friends, instead of concentrating their contributions to the cause upon one specific object, like that of the NATIONAL BAZAAR, should give a portion to this or that local body, and another to this or that individual enterprise, it is obvious that the moral effect of their combined effort would be lost upon the public mind in this country, (which is becoming more and more deeply affected by it,) because such an effort would no longer be visible. Still, far be it from us to prevent the channels through which their philanthropy shall run. It is for them, individually and collectively, to determine in what manner, to what extent, and through what agencies, they shall aid the anti-slavery cause in this country. For whatever they may do, they shall have our warmest thanks, and receive the blessings of those who are ready to perish.

CORPORATE PHYSICIANS.—Messrs. John V. Degrasse, of our city, and Thomas J. White, of Brooklyn, two of the medical students of Bowditch Medical College, at Brunswick, Me., received the degree of M. D. at the last session. Mr. Degrasse was a student of Dr. S. R. Childs, and Mr. White a student of Dr. C. Roberts, both of this city.—*New York Evening Post.*

REV. Robert L. Brockbridge and Ben Hardin are soon to have a public discussion on the question of emancipation in Kentucky, at Bardstown.

If it be replied, that the cause is ours, and therefore it is of little consequence in what part of the field the work is done—so that it be done effectually—we agree in this; and this is one among many other reasons why we wonder that our Pennsylvania friends should have written such a letter to England.

AN ANTI-SLAVERY TEST.

An article on 'Benevolent Societies,' (see Refuge of Oppression,) the New York Times and Messenger—a pro-slavery paper—raises a note of exultation at the fact, that while the American Tract Society received into its treasury, last year, the sum of \$258,444, the Bible Society \$251,870, the Home Mission \$145,925, and the Foreign Mission \$110,081,—now of which any pay any regard to the awful condition of three million slaves at home,—the receipts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, even including all the payments for the Standard, amounted to only \$6,992. 'It tells a tale of significant meaning,' says the Times. So it does—and such a tale as will cause posterity to blush at the age in which we live: it shows, demonstratively, that all that is wealthy, all that is reputable, all that is influential, all that is popularly considered, is on the side of the oppressor where there is power; it sustains every declaration of the abolitionists as to the guilt of the Church and the position of the State, in regard to slavery. For twenty years, the wrongs of the slave have been constantly kept before the nation, and the duty of immediate emancipation has been earnestly inculcated, and the only national society that is laboring for the deliverance of the oppressed receives, during the last year, less than \$7,000—among twenty millions of people, and thirty sovereign states, is it possible to conceive of a more ignominious address on the subject of slavery extension once or twice a year, as election day approaches, by those who are seeking the loves and fishes of office, but to steadily abandon and boldly expose for her co-operation with the South in the enslavement of every sixth person in the land, by those who desire for themselves neither power nor place, who are emancipated from the trammels of Church and State, and whose all-comprehensive motto is, 'No union with slaveholders, religiously or politically.'

A Free Soil Convention of the State has just met, and put in nomination for Governor, George F. Talbot, Esq., of Machias. Mr. Talbot has long been interested in the abolition of slavery, and has a gifted mind; but, in the present moral condition of Maine touching the question of slavery, what is such a nomination but an attempt to make bricks without straw, fire without fuel, the train move without an engine? Be it remembered, that whatever political anti-slavery exists on her soil is the product of that moral agitation in which her professed abolitionists were once heartily engaged, but which they have now almost entirely abandoned for political competition. Let a moral change be effected in the public sentiment of Maine, favorable to impartial liberty, and the political action of the State will conform to it exactly as the vane on the steeple indicates which way the wind is blowing. But political speech-makers are not adapted to produce such a change, and where are the moral teachers?

WE have in its connection with the national government, with an historic accuracy that admits of no refutation.

In this work, he has done much to advance the cause of peace, as well as to increase the public abhorrence of slavery. His style is faultless, his arrangement of facts clear and methodical, his examination of men and things calm and dignified, his every position unprejudiced. With great wisdom, admirable candor, absolute impartiality, and rare conscientiousness, in his treatment of subjects which convulse the nation, he never leaves unfinished the task he undertakes to perform, but secures on his side the convictions of every one who is not deaf to the voice of reason, blind to the clearest evidences, and dead to the claims of humanity. In regard to his present work he says: 'The author hopes for a hearing, not from the self-righteous ignorantly struggling in the political arena for office, and power, and money, and lavishly squandering in the strife of their own truth and honor, and the public good; but from that small, yet increasing number, who are inquiring how far their relations to the State are to be governed by the precepts of Christianity.' Fifty editions of it have been exhausted in less time than the war which it so powerfully condemned took.

AN Agreeable Entertainment. On Saturday afternoon, 2d instant, a large number of colored children and youth of this city, chiefly connected with the Smith School, and under the care of its excellent instructors, Mr. Wellington and Miss Southwick, accepted the generous offer of William L. Brewster, Esq., to hold a picnic at his expense, (including railroad transportation from and to the city,) in the grove attached to his charming residence in Brookline, and were greatly delighted at the rare entertainment. The weather was unusually bright, and Nature to our eyes never presented a more beautiful aspect. Every thing was done by Mr. Bowditch and his lady to make it an occasion of unalloyed satisfaction, and their kindness and liberality will not soon be forgotten by those who were present. The master group employed their time to the best advantage, in swinging, dancing, nimbly pursuing each other, singing the songs of freedom, gathering flowers, and especially in disposing of the refreshments which were so bountifully provided for them. Among them was such a diversity of complexions, that it was impossible to decide of all who were on the ground, whether really white or otherwise, who was a colored person, or where the line of demarcation should draw, consigning this portion to the favored, or that to the proscribed class of society. The children were dressed in the neatest manner, and exhibited as much intelligence as any similar number of white children that could be brought together. To all eyes they presented a pleasant and most gratifying spectacle. Among the special friends and advocates of the colored people who were present, entering heartily into the festivity of the

LETTER FROM REV. MR. DALL.

LOWELL, June 4, 1849.

REV. SAMUEL MAY, JR.:—
DEAR BROTHER.—Having a leisure hour this morning, my thoughts revert strongly to the exciting events of the week of anniversary just past; and particularly to what transpired under the dome of the Melodeon, in our labor for the slave. May I give you one or two reflections, that now force themselves upon me?

First of all, I am glad we found our occupation no child's play, but hot and earnest work. Then, I am sorry that the distinct progress of the anti-slavery cause was not more continually presented to the audience, in a minute detail of facts: as, concerning the one hundred convention, &c. How much better, in this way, might some of those hours have been employed, who had not the same precious faith with us, or whose theory of emancipation strongly differed from our own! Again; it seemed to me that we erred in recognizing but two parties in America, viz: the church and the abolitionists: whereas, by far the larger portion of the people belong to neither of these. Let the church be sunk in even so low a state of criminal apathy, there is surely a lower and a wider class of those who equally despise the claims of the slaves upon them, on the one hand, and the calls of the church, on the other. Of the twenty-three millions of our people, little over three millions are church members, and a far smaller number professed and decided abolitionists. Here, then, are some eighteen millions of pro-slavery men, who hear no rebuke, almost none, from our platform; many of whom revel in our exposure of the church's nakedness and sin, and lay the flatteringunction to their souls, that we have nothing against them. This immense body of men is illustrated, on either extreme, by the so-called gentlemen's mob in Boston, some years ago, and by the white laborers—truckmen, wood-sawyers and others—who, to-day, in all our Southern cities, curse and trample on colored men of the same calling, at every corner of the streets. This mass of men, existing largely in every state of the Union, is surely as far away from the true church, the anti-slavery church, to which we seek to belong, as is the great body of the nominal church. And, by the way, it was to a delegation from this mass, and not to the church, that Mr. Garrison should have addressed the noisy interruptions at the Melodeon.

At the next anniversary, should not this army of pro-slavery Americans be boldly confronted? I do not forget that the politicians have received from us a crusade or two of discontent, now and then; though, compared with what has been said against the church, they have been left unchallenged.

Alexander Campbell on Emancipation.—The founder and leader of the numerous sects known as Campbellites, has spoken out very plainly and worthily on the subject of emancipation in Kentucky. The following are his words:

"A time has come in Kentucky, when the Christian population of that noble and rapidly advancing State will speak out like Christians at the polls, and de-murate its love of liberty and right, by extending them to every man in the form of man that breathes its air or treads its soil. It will be her greatest honor, as I am sure it will be her greatest interest, to be first in this great work."

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.'

Religion among the Nobility of England.—Within a few months past, meetings have been established in London among some of the nobility. An English journal mentions the following incident connected with these meetings:

"Within the last six or seven weeks, the lady of a distinguished Peer has opened her drawing-room for the purpose of holding devotional meetings, on the part of persons of her own rank in society. As many as a hundred noblemen and gentlemen, mostly members of Parliament, with their wives or other near relatives, meet together on these occasions, and spend the evenings in purely Christian intercourse. Prayer and praise, and the reading of a chapter of the Bible, by one of the clergy, are presented, with a few expository observations, constitute the services of the evening."

Union.—While Mr. Webster is making a tour of visits in the Old Dominion, it is said that the Hon. W. C. Rives has bent his course to the capital of the less noble and renowned Old Bay State in order to be present at an interesting ceremony in which his son and a daughter of the ancient Commonwealth are to be conspicuous participants. These are among the strongest of those ties which render indispensable the union of North and South.—N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

Union.—A speech of the King of Prussia, in which his majesty lays down the following *Dei Gratia* doctrine, ought to be often repeated, that the arrogant pretensions of the crowned heads of Europe may be always before the world:

"I know that I am indebted to God only for my chance to take a stand, even to make the half-utterance of things that I did, if for no other reason, because I was made the instrument of eliciting from bro. Foster and yourself, so catholic and generous a rejoinder; made, it is remembered, in the heat of the conflict, to this effect—that if all who differed from you would as honestly say so, there would be a much better chance of progress; a declaration I could not have antecedently believed possible, to such fanatics as you and he, at such a moment. Doubt not that your reply to me will give others faith to speak, who have long ago resolved (I had) to leave the anti-slavery cause to their own devices."

Furthermore, let me say to you, brother, (what I have already said to others,) that I am glad I was forced to take a stand, even to make the half-utterance of things that I did, if for no other reason, because I was made the instrument of eliciting from bro. Foster and yourself, so catholic and generous a rejoinder; made, it is remembered, in the heat of the conflict, to this effect—that if all who differed from you would as honestly say so, there would be a much better chance of progress; a declaration I could not have antecedently believed possible, to such fanatics as you and he, at such a moment. Doubt not that your reply to me will give others faith to speak, who have long ago resolved (I had) to leave the anti-slavery cause to their own devices."

Execution.—The Houston (Miss.) Republican, of the 5th inst., says:

"Clancy, slave, convicted for an attempt to kill, will be executed in this place on Friday, the 11th inst."

Execution.—Two negro men were arraigned before the County Court of Fauquier county, on Friday last, charged with breaking open the meat-house of Lloyd Noland, and stealing a quantity of bacon. One of them having been induced to confess, the other promises to do the same, and to turn informer. The negro who had just derived her own constitution from the movement of people, and dictate to them the restoration of the Papal government, which they have thrown off! The feeling of every republican would revolt against such oppression.—Ibid.

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Execution.—The Houston (Miss.) Republican, of the 5th inst., says:



For the Liberator.

TO THE CLERICAL ADVOCATES OF LEGAL MURDER.

This murdering criminals in private, Is something I cannot connive at. And, if the law came pure from heaven, By God's own hand to mortals given, Why should not this God-given one light Shine out on all, like heaven's sun-light? Why take your victim to a corner, If you would have him for a warden? Why hide from all but priest and deacon, If ye would use him as a beacon? Are there not those among the laymen, Would choose to witness when ye slay men? Or, have ye learned, the common masses Are not inhuman, stupid asses? That they possess a kind of feeling, Ye are not guilty of revealing? O, ye divines! souls are ye saving, While ye for human blood are raving? Are ye not wolves, dressed in sheep's clothing—Fit subjects of the people's loathing? The captive's cause ye are not pleading, While ye in human blood are feeding. I'd speak for one, 'born in a manger'—But ye care little for a stranger. Go—learn of untamed beasts the way! For they do sometimes spare their prey.

OLD COLONY.

Plymouth, May 30, 1849.

For the Liberator.

QUESTION OF LAW.

To J. R. L.
Law is 'supreme'—the 'sovereign people' Are but the *basement*—law's but the steeple. Law sets upon the sovereign's shoulders, Not caring when the basement moulders. Now, if the 'men of God' approve it, If even the 'sovereign people' love it, Where is the power can ever alter The 'law supreme' which bails the halter?

Plymouth, May 26, 1849.

From the Pioneer of Freedom.

THE ERA OF FREEDOM.

By Wm. MILNE.

A glorious spark of pure promethean fire Has touched the universal mass of mind, Kindling a world-wide flame of strong desire For Freedom's blessings to the human kind. Like the red bolt, by Jove's own fiat hurled, No human power its onward course may stay; Around a groaning, tyrant-ridden world, 'Tis gleaming upward to meridian day. Powers which have slumbered since the world began, Now burst through their cerements of a hoary hue, And Freedom's torch is blazing in the van, While the whole world seems fashioning anew. O! glorious era! mind—immortal mind— Stirs in its hampered tenement of clay; Man claims the heaven-will'd birthright of his kind— Woe to earth's potsherds who dare say him nay!

The oppressor with the powers of hell may league; And the broad earth in human gore may drench; But power usurp'd, nor gold, nor foul ingratitude, The heaven-lit fires of freedom may not quench.

America! all nations under heaven, Gaze eagerly, with eagle-eyes, to see If tyrant chains, once by their fathers riven, Shall now again be riveted by thee—

If Liberty, for which the fathers bled, Shall by the children basely be denied To men, their fellow-men—in God's image made— For whom, alike, a common Savior died.

Forbid it, Heaven! avert the threatened blow, That lays my country's laurels in the dust! Let her, the foremost, to the nations show That, to be Great, a people must be Just.

She must forbear the extension of the blot,

That looks so darkly on her blood-stained fame: May, now I must wipe out the leprosy spot,

Or soon 't will quench her stars & stripes in shame.

The recreant sons of venerated sires,

Who, Eau-like, their proudest boast would sell,

Must be reclaimed by Freedom's new lit fires,

Or History's page a darker tale will tell.

Than ever human record yet has told:

The history of a nation clothed in shame—

By its own children manacled and sold,

Even while they boasted Freedom's outraged name.

Pioneer of Freedom, may thy fearless page

Be framed and fashioned by a master mind;

And tireless, unremitting warfare wage,

With every foe to Freedom and Mankind.

Let thy barbed darts by heaven high be sped,

Till chattel slavery folds its murky wing—

Till Afric's sons lift up the drooping head,

And jubilee songs through Southern jungles ring.

MAKE GLAD.

By ROBERT STOREY.

The Seasons, in passing, one sweet mortal bribe, And well, if he marked it, would man do; Spread pleasure like me, is the language of Spring.

'Make all hearts as glad as you can do!

What a world it would be, if—less mindful of self;

You esteemed every neighbor a brother;

And if each, while he did a bit good for himself,

Died a little bit, too, for another!

The Summer but varies the lesson.—'Make glad!

Treat all men with love and affection!

My sun shines alike on the good and the bad,

And shall you dare think of selection?

What a world it would be, if—less mindful of self;

You esteemed c'en a bad man a brother;

And if each, &c.

The Autumn repeats it—'My stores are for all!

But should one, in the scramble, get favor,

Let him share it with those whom little may fall,

And what's left will have all the more savor!

What a world it would be, if—less mindful of self;

You esteemed the unlucky a brother;

And if each, &c.

And Winter affirms it, while shaking the door,

And binding the stream with his fitters,

'Keep the cold that I bring, from the hearths of the poor.'

And your own will burn brighter and better!

You esteemed every poor man a brother:

And if each, while he did a bit good for himself,

Died a little bit, too, for another!

From the Knickerbocker.

THE FORCE OF LOVE.

Do good to them that hate you, if your haters Be seven empires fenced in three-fold steel; And ye shall be God's children, who will clothe Your non-resisting front with lightning blast, And to your naked virtue give your foes As drives stubble. Revolutionize In love, and re-construct in love; so shall Ye saved be, and save, amid the raging storm.

The Liberator.

AN ADDRESS TO THE SUFFOLK NORTH ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS. By J. P. LEASEY, Minister of the First Evangelical Church, Milton, Mass. With Sermons on the Rule of Faith, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, and the Church. Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols. 1849. pp. 130.

Verily, the author of this pamphlet is a live man, apparently with courage enough for any emergency—with brain and heart all his own, and of great activity and scope—with the religious element strongly developed, yet under the control of enlightened reason and sound common sense—and with all the marks about him of one who not only believes in human progress, even theologically, but is disposed to go forward, fearing no lions that may be in the way, and determined to be true to his convictions, at any sacrifice of ease, reputation, and office. He is a young man, we understand—was educated at Princeton, N. J.—is highly scientific, and possessed of various accomplishments. The occasion of his Address to the Suffolk North Association is, briefly, this—Mr. Leasey, having preached to the Orthodox church in Milton from December, 1847, to April, 1848, was requested to become its settled pastor, and an ordination was considered necessary. In 1843, he had received a license to preach from the Old School Presbytery of Philadelphia, which was subsequently revoked, as, while his 'dogmatic theology was still hyperalistic,' he had changed his views 'upon precisely the points most insisted upon by Old School Presbyterians, the structure of the visible church, the necessity of creeds, and the theory of inspiration.' Notwithstanding he was put under this ecclesiastical ban, the church in Milton passed a vote, requesting him to continue to preach; but he was urged to seek a license, in the usual way, from some Association. As he had no insurmountable objections to doing so, that conclude refused to grant him a license, and treated him with as little courtesy and fairness as any one charged with 'heresy' usually obtains at such hands. Hence this scathing address to the Association. We give below, two or three extracts:

"A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS, By HENRY D. THOREAU. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. New York: George P. Putnam. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackston. London: Chapman. 1849. pp. 413.

We have not yet been able to give this volume such an examination as would justify us in pronouncing absolute judgment upon it. For its amiable author, we have much respect. His mode of life is *sans péness*—all alone by himself in the woods of Concord, an enthusiastic child and lover of Nature, in spirit an occupant of an ideal world, and with the eye of genius 'in a fine phreny rolling'—and this production of his is equally peculiar. We have spent many years 'on the Merrimack river,' our dear native stream; but this was 'long, long ago.' We shall accept this invitation of Mr. Thoreau to pass a week with him on the same river, and, making that the starting-point from which to ascend to 'cloud-land,' we shall accompany him on the wings of imagination as far as we can sustain such a flight. Of our entertainment and success, we may report hereafter.

The numerous admirers of Carlyle and Emerson will read this book with a relish; for Mr. T. writes in their vein, and to some extent in their dialect, and is a match for them in felicitous conceits and amusing quaintnesses; yet he is not a servile imitator—only an admirer, by affinity and kindred one of a trinity, having his own sphere in which to move, and his own mission to consummate. As a specimen of his thinking and speaking, take the following, suggested by a reader:

"It is remarkable that the dead lie everywhere under stones.—Strata jacent paucis quoque sub—lapidis—corpora, we might say, if the measure allowed.

"Whence the single one, and stands upright, pointing to the skies? It is not the opposite of the traveller to meditate by it; but these did even a little heathenish to us; and so are all large numbers over men's bodies, from the pyramids down.

"A monument should at least be star-pointing, to indicate whether the spirit is gone, and not prostrate, like the body it has deserted. There have been some nations who could do nothing but construct tombs, and these are the only traces which they leave.

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